

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583
588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III,
third part. See pp. ff.

582 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a
835 widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases

• [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man.

[538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

684 In the same manner the court of justice handled a case
835 of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
593 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
608 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused,
these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter
and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with
their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had
been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt,
therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara.
608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not
occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less
frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher
generation (1).

587 1. The idea exists that when a
593 widower remarries, his second
wife treats her stepchildren with
less kindness than her own. No
heart-rending examples of this
could be noted, however. In
one case the hostile attitude
originated with the two girls
who suspected their stepmother
of having killed their own mother
by means of a formula
(pangassengang), in order to be
able to marry their father.

[54]
[578] The relationship of a man
with his stepson is a tense one.
Quarrels occur that lead to
physical violence and fights
such as are unknown between
a man and his own son.

h[ie. incest. - Am'7st]

587 /35 cont./ In several cases a man married the younger
835 sister of his deceased wife. One likes to see sisters "succeed-
ing each other on the pillow" because it is believed that the
children from the first marriage will be better taken care of by
someone who already knows them well than by a stranger,
and also because by such a marriage existing ties in the family
are continued. At the same time, several cases were
[637] registered in which a man made his wife's sister pregnant.

Such a relationship generally is not regarded as salimara'.
/36/ It does, however, cause a great deal of commotion be-
cause, according to the decrees of Moslem law, a man may
not be married to two sisters at one and the same time. In
such a case the man must first oust his wife, therefore, and
only after the iddat period has elapsed, may he marry her
sister. During the entire period, he, like the pregnant woman,
is tumannjala (1) with respect to her brothers and other male

1. See Chapter III,
third part.

relatives.

[578] It is said that this man has made two women unhappy at
once. Reconciliation takes place less readily, and the
commotion is greater than in the case of an "ordinary"

• [684] marriage by flight. In a verdict handed down by the Sawitto
Native Court, a couple was sentenced for salimara' in such a
case. In his opinion on this verdict, Dr. A. A. Cense called
this interpretation incorrect. He thought that only after the
decrees of Moslem law became known did the notion arise
that this relationship should also be regarded as salimara'.
I cannot declare myself in entire agreement with him on this
point. The interpretation does show, however, that, just as
in the cases of sexual contact between a man and his step-
daughter, here, too, a doubt exists as to whether or not this

838 /152 cont./ become apparent that it is not altogether correct to translate the term kawe kawé by homosexual. Lack of a better one led me to use this translation for the time being.

The distinction connotes that homosexuality is accepted as abnormal, but nonetheless as an existing phenomenon just like an albino or a deaf-mute. In 1949 there were no men living in the kampong Bontoramba who were regarded as kawe kawé. In all of Borongloë (around 14, 000 inhabitants), there may have been five. Compared with other adat communities, this number will probably /153/ seem small. The reason for

[684] this is that the adat community head to whom, as a believing
[634] Moslem, these kawe kawé were already a thorn in the side anyway had threatened to cut off the hair of each one (some of them wore their hair down to their shoulders) because one of them had made a young girl pregnant. As a result many of the kawe kawé left Borongloë. Only a few stayed. I was repeatedly able to observe one of them. Here follows a brief description of his outward appearance and behavior. His name was Taking.

Taking was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother. They were a poor household, but only when it was completely necessary did Taking work in the sawah. Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women. In his manner of sitting and speaking and in clothing he was scarcely distinguishedable from them. At the kin-group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women. At the ritual at the climax of the festival, however, he was, along with a number of older women, relatives of the head, the one [554] who participated in its arrangement. Both the kitchen work and the conduct of the ritual were in the hands of women at

545 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed,
[586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

• [684]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

545 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts
578 the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder.
[682] If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this
678] to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a
favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tēna
nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'),
used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the
same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

[731] It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country
will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy
will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one
accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed
salimara'.

• 684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old
lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch
the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the
banishment of the couple for a few years to different places
outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law
had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs;
the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's
sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

684
692

1. This is a direct conse-
quence of the fact that
under the influence of the
administration these offenses
were always very lightly

684 /209 cont./

692

punished by the native courts of law. Incest and, a fortiori, the contact situation of a man with a higher woman is not entered as an offense in the Penal Code. As a result, persons guilty of incest cannot, on the whole, be punished through government jurisdiction. In these districts the administration gives them protection in the form of a very brief punishment pronounced by the magistrate's court (elsewhere the district court, old style), coupled with the advice not to return to the kampong. This applies equally to violation of rules concerning contact between a man and a higher woman.

554

582

Prohibition of hypergamy is a well-known phenomenon in many cultures. In South Celebes the sharp reaction to transgression is the only striking thing. An explanation of this circumstance therefore will only be attempted.

554

A Makassarese occupies toward his equals and near equals a position of constant opposition. A fixed vertical articulation has not come about. His female relatives, and primarily his sister, constitute for him the point of departure in his striving to /210/ rise. They are a fixed point for him in this respect.

554 /210 cont./ A woman "may not go down." Impairment of
[558] her social standing constitutes for her male relatives, and
especially for her brother, an affront to their striving to rise.
They are injured in one of the very few fixed points which they
possess.

565 A Makassarese stands in a relationship of cooperation to
a superior or an inferior. High and low have common interests.
Together they are best able to realize their own aspirations to
rise. The lack of an opposition element lends their mutual
relationship an emotional security which is absent elsewhere.

554 An expression of competition between an inferior and a
565 superior entails an impairment of existing relationships between
high and low. The reaction to such an impairment is generally
a sharp repudiation. The superior tries to maintain existing
relationships because these give him emotional security which
he lacks elsewhere, because his attempts to rise can only be
successful through his tie with inferiors, and finally because
his rights and duties towards inferiors provide him with ad-
vantages that he does not like to be without.

● 684 Violation of contact prohibitions between a man and a
554 higher woman also signifies for a Makassarese an impairment
565 of an important, fixed point of comparison in his striving for
high /status/, and an impairment of the existing relation be-
tween high and low. Thus it means the impairment of two ele-
ments that are of essential importance to him in his culture.
He faces a situation with which he feels himself unable to cope,
and in his opinion there remains nothing else to do than to
kill the person who has done this to him (adjallo').

That a violation of the contact prohibition between a man
and a higher woman is indicated by the same term as that be-
tween members of the same family /in narrow sense/ probably
means only that it is regarded as equally serious.

554 Such violation is therefore more serious than if contact
684 prohibitions are violated between equals or near equals. In the

554/210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place.

684 Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri" and "the fleers," a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relation-
571 ships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

- [114
196]
1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the
duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best
be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise,
in social standing is touched at the core through impairment
of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

556 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women,
and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the
silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be dis-
cussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between
the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings
about siri', is always held against both man and woman.
Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of
them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment
it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger.
For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house,
and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with
whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which
[583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated
in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who
caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this
way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the
challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not
the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge
can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about
between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a
certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

554 /213 cont. / On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions
against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the
superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not
to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing
acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose
his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there
appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an
inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about
a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that
no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies
existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
607 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
684 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the
relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have
made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri'
("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice
there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the
difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which
will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations,
or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are
comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challeng-
ing and killing. This does not mean that each silariang
marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it
is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with
it.

627 A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
684 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has
transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this
killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a
manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife
(badi') in the open.

627 /214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so
684 in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In
such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister

577
627
684
1. See above, p. 74. It is
completely incorrect to speak
in such a case of "amuck";
this term covers an entirely
different psychic state. Compare
Professor van Wulfften Palthe,
"De psychologie van de amok
/The Psychology of the Amok/, "
Fakkell, 1941.

fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental
encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless
was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he
/215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however,
he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way
unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor.
Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out
than to kill.

627 Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case
671 generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the
682 question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the
684 victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person --
made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation
because every Makassarese immediately understands this
involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that,
sympathizes with his deed.

[695] Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants
rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado.
They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as
a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they
want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

627 /215 cont. / "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves
671 completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In
682 a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind
684 hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation.
Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she

[626]
1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often re-married very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter,

[438] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

428 /216 cont./
588

1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593
684
627 The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

[539]

Sari'battangadji todjeng,
iadji kalli' madjarre';
pindu' tjikali
naempoi ranggasela.

Only the brother is the true,
he alone is the strong fence,
where cousins
of the sixth and fourth
degree waver.

[602] There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

593

602 /216 cont. / drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.

- 684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554

627 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
684 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a
superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri
must control his siri feelings. In one case where a tumasiri
pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and
killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the

183

627

684

3. See /H. T. Chabot,
"Steekpartijen in Goa/
/Knifings in Goa/, "
Indisch Tijdschrift van
het Recht, / Vol. 149,
p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability
signified a relief for their tumasiri, /217/ because it frees the
latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would
simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the
open road. At such a moment many tumasiri ignore their
tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circum-
stances.

588

684

114

In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status,
nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their
children without taking into account their wishes (1).

538 /217 cont./

● 684

[114]

1. The suggestion I made in 1938 to the effect that a deeper knowledge of the Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons that lead to a silariang marriage has therefore proved incorrect. See /Ibid./ Vol. 149, p. 334.

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521

684

Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau runka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then her brother might hear of it. The fact that people talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

[626]

[558]

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation
knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears
about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however.
Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.

[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed
does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great
dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody
likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

[571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the
danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the
preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person
who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman
who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand
remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and
darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682] moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
[672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri"; that is to say,
[602] they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit.
The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere,"
was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and
thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

- 627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
● 684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

[562] The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

[626
558]

588 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must
684 pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage
ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The
money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the
reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine
directly during the performance of the marriage because in
so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that
he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man
who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this
money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in
Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine
over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been
performed.

177 A few observations can be made concerning the origin
627 of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called,
684 "cutting off what is pointed, " or "making blunt what is
sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason
for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling,
"Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht
in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage
and Marriage Law in South
Celebes/, " /Indisch
Tijdschrift van het Recht, /
Vol. 147, p. 203.
/Batavia, 1938. /

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that
reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings
linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-
tumannjala relationship.

177 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the
627 number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to
648 have been very large. At that time the administration looked
684

177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases
of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-
tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this
way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled,
the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong.
Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka'
in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala
relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only
when we keep in mind these historical facts can we under-
stand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts
the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the recon-
ciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this
sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that
the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary
case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage re-
quest, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming
that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual

[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give
his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them,
unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In
that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision
states that the woman is higher than the man, they are
separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower
blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she
made them siri'.

684 After such-a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.
The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

684/221 cont. / affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In
practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show
his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen
reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance,
she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him
have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely
calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies
more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She
is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore
takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so
that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible
of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took
place, the woman was practically always married off shortly
thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
[588] fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This
time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the
marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that
he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a
man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes
834 states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to
kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/
would accept "forcible abduction," in all such cases would
make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess,
even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with
her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that
she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman
who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire
(lale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

1. In such a case one might
consider not swearing in the
abducted woman, of whom it

684 /222 cont. / cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But [626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as
good (badji'). A young man who likes a girl may ask her
whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept
her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her
mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad,"
that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school
[626] when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her
a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would
come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee,
and most of these were made not so much through a lust for
adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many
young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to
marry a modern young woman who can get along in company.
Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their
wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman
steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in
a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderenganku),
she would say, and the young men would be content with that.
She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not
need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by
flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
● 684 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self")
when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who
has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang
are not different either in principle or in consequences.
Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

588/223 cont./ leaves alone or with the man. I call it an
684 accident, for instance, whether she succeeds in arranging a
rendezvous for the flight through an intermediary. The fear
that upon (unintentional) forbidden contact, the reaction will
be a /224/ stab with the knife is always one of the motives
for her flight.

588 When a woman flees to a man, the latter can do nothing
626 but go with her. He would be no "man," not even in the
558 opinion of his own kin group, if he did not do so. Rather
than letting it be said of him that he "flees from a woman,"
he goes with her to the village or religious functionary,
marries, and in so doing invites all the difficulties which a
silariang marriage brings with it. Then he behaves as be-
seems a man.

588 It is assumed as a matter of course that a woman who
626 takes refuge with a man has reason for this. The man who
684 refuses marriage in such a case can be sure that he will no
longer be an acceptable guest to many people. It is regarded
as very reprehensible to make a girl siri' and then not to
marry her. I was able to record only two instances of this.

684 When a girl of approximately thirteen years of age had
taken refuge with a man of about twenty-six, the latter
denied that he had given cause for this. He had known her
a long time, so he said, and his feelings toward her had
merely been those of a brother. He lamented what she had
[626] done because now they were both siri' in his opinion, she,
because she fled, and he because many would be unwilling
to accept his refusal and would therefore be loath to receive
him in their houses. It is noteworthy about this statement that
this man placed the siri' feeling of the woman beside his own.
Thus, he ascribes to her siri' feelings which normally only
men are supposed to possess, feelings which arise when an
attempt, made in public, to attain something fails.

In the other example, the man admitted that he did
have some fun with the woman who fled to him (bandjulu'

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588
626
684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as befits a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689
609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834
684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

- 684 /225 cont. / get water and not to talk." In another case a girl was washing at the well when a ball with which a group of young men were playing raga rolled close to her. She gave the ball a little kick, and the young man who came to get it laughed to her. A few days later she fled to him. Another case concerned a girl who, during one of the ceremonies preceding her wedding, broke wind. One of her cousins immediately took the blame for it: "Don't laugh, people, it slipped out of me," he said. A few days later, the nikka' had already taken place; she fled to him. As it turned out later, she did so at the urging of her aunt: "Go off, do what your siri' demands" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu), the latter is supposed to have said. Subsequently, she married this man.

- /226/ In none of these instances was the woman therefore in any direct danger. In all three of them her action [672] was completely understood, and her kin group was "not very siri'," that is to say, the reconciliation took place within half a year. Rather than remaining siri' and running the risk of being stabbed, these women resorted to flight. Rather than refusing to go with her and not being believed and thus being regarded as one who flees before a woman, the men married. The wife's kinsmen were siri' because she fled and thereby openly admitted that forbidden contact existed. But there certainly was understanding of her action and the feelings that led her to it. In the last of these three cases just described, the deserted bridegroom was also without feelings of rancor toward the second husband. He regarded the course of events as part of his lot. When etiquette had been satisfied [152] through reconciliation, there was no apparent trace of personal feelings of anger in him.

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

848 It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother
being married. This may happen by way of exception, for
instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. Ac-
cording to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed
in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is
divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children
born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same
time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight
years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloë as a child
who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death
of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers.
Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in
doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

588 A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
another man is called patongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").

672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.

• 684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is
paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's
kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only
attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her.
It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants
to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of
the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree
(sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen
are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

[848] His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/
happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen
from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without
being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first
place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month
after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattonko' siri'" is officially regarded as
● 684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each
other more than usual.

588 A description of such a wedding will follow here to
describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from
that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially
to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wed-
ding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no
question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations
was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual
had been reduced to a few simple actions.

588 Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
848 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her
child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the
house of the adat community head to wait there until someone
should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take
her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else,
"to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh
degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rapping, a
divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The
adat community head conveyed this request to her. She
already knew Rapping, and therefore she did not have to see
him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter
over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was con-
cluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported
this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's
father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of
his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the
Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which
only his fingerprint had to be added.

[583] /229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah
designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while
a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

602 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the
627 cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with
the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been
593 left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to
588 bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other
means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender
herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman
unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she
had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here
I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return
the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

684 /235 cont./ arrival aroused a great commotion, but the
593 situation that had thus arisen was accepted, and she was
588 henceforth not regarded as tumannjala. However, such cases
remain a rarity.

Even married women resort to this method, though very rarely, if a reconciliation in the customary manner seems impossible. This was done by a woman, for instance, whose husband had taken a second wife and who was now receiving insufficient means of support from him. The same was also done by a childless woman. The action is regarded as a deed of desperation. In performing it the woman runs the risk of being killed, for in so doing she delivers herself to her brothers who would stab her to death, or at least /236/ would have to make an attempt at doing so in case of an accidental meeting in public. However, her act of desperation has as a consequence that the latter no longer feel the urge to stab. She who originally made them siri' now shows herself lesser than they.

Declaration of Death

There is also a way for the tumasiri' to escape the need to behave as tumasiri'. This is the "declaration of death." "I no longer have a child, neither in this world nor in the hereafter" (1), are the customary words. It is also said that

1. Tenamo anakku rilino
nariahereka.

the child is "declared dead" (2) by the one who has spoken

2. Nimateangi.

these words, that he has cast it out (3), that it is no longer

3. Natallaki ana'na.

684 /236 cont./ recognized by him as his child (4). This

593

588

4. Nisassali rimanggena.

declaration sometimes takes place in the mosque in the presence of the imam and other prominent men of the adat community. This simply adds more force to the words. The declaration can also be made at home without any intentional witnesses.

The utterance of the words may, in the first instance, be coupled with some ritual in the form of offering psang. On that occasion the religious official recites the initial words of the Koran. It is said that thereby the Prophet is regarded as another witness to the utterance of the declaration (5).

5. Nipappisa'biangi
rina'bia.

Modern Islamites repudiate this ritual. They speak contemptuously of "the pisang reading" (amattja unti).

The consequence of this declaration of death, which is closer to the Islamic than the ancestral world, is not that a child is thereby regarded as disinherited. The religious judge (sjarat) took no account of it in regulating the personal estate of a man who had declared his daughter dead.

593 In practice it seems to be principally the father of the
588 fled woman who at present makes use of such a declaration.
684 Her brothers do not do so; they do not regard themselves bound
627 by their father's declaration. They consider themselves free,
both in their attempts to kill her, as well as in giving their
assent to the reconciliation. /237/ Repeatedly, a tacit recall
takes place as the father later also gives his consent to the
reconciliation. But it also has happened that a reconciliation
came about with all the tumasiri except the woman's parents.

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is
otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'.

593 Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant
684 kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving
various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

684 The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
627 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other
[177] hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
existing ties are considered to be completely broken
diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

554/241 cont. / to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely delimited group and that the standing of relatives among each
612 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
684 found -- with one single exception: the karaeng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

Ball OF7

Minangkabau OD10
 Redjang-Lampung OD12
 Javanese OE5
 Makassar OG6
 Nias OD12

I [451 cont.]

671 whereby vengeance can be bought off with money or goods.

681 The criminal law of the Malay Archipelago is already largely at this stage of development. Everywhere here we see that the law of vengeance has been limited to a system of fines, whereby each crime, in all its variations, is valued at a definite sum for which it is fined. Only where it is exercised in continent

Mn 684 is the law of vengeance still permitted without restriction. In the first place this applies to adultery. We find it reported for the Minangkabau Malays, for example, that if anyone catches his wife in the act of committing adultery and kills her and her accomplice on the spot, this is recognized as a righteous punishment for the crime. If, however, someone other than the husband detects the adulterers and this is properly proved, or if the deceived husband does not make use of his right of vengeance, then the culprits are fined. According to Marsden, RL 684 the same provision exists among the Redjang. Concerning the Fasemah people, we read that if someone enters the house of another with the intention of committing adultery with the wife, the husband has the right to kill him if he catches him in the act. If the culprit is caught outside the house, however, then he may not be killed, but is fined from four to twenty Spanish piasters [Spaansche matten].

81 Also among the Balinese, it is a rule that the deceived husband [452] may apply the law of vengeance. If the matter 684 has been reported to the sovereign, however, this right is withdrawn.

MN 684 A like provision was formerly applied among the Javanese and still is among the Makassarese. Thus it is said, "If someone tells another that a woman is committing adultery he may do nothing, even though the informant is a reliable person. If he catches his wife in coitus, however, then he may kill her. If she hastily flees to court, then she may not be killed, and after the matter has been legally N investigated, the culprit is punished with a fine."

684 On Nias, too, the injured spouse may kill both culprits if he

2: Wilken--516, E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893

OB1 Indonesia OB1

Redjang-Lampung OP22

MaKassar OG6

Atjehnese OD4

Nias OP11

Javanese OES

Lombok OF12

Batak OD5

Ngadju OC9

Bali OF7

MX
681 [465 cont.]

N each holding an end in his hand. Strangulation also occurs
[681] among the Niassans and is done as primitively as among the
684 Makassarese and Buginese. The punishment of drowning is
MX found more commonly. It is applied primarily for incest and
BI as an alternative for adultery if the fine is not paid. Such is
L the case among the Makassarese and Buginese, the Balinese,
R-L the Sasak, the Lampong and the Dajak, at least among the Olo
Ng Ngadju, who inhabit the southeastern division. The execution
681 is done simply by tying a stone around the culprit's neck, as
684 among the Buginese, by sewing him into a sack half-filled with
stones and rice as among the Balinese and Sasak, or by putting
him into a basket weighted with stones, as among the Dajak,
MX and throwing it in the sea or river. [466] Drowning also occurs
N among the Niassans, and on Atjeh thieves are done away with
A
681 in this manner. Besides drowning, we should mention another
type of punishment, whereby the condemned is put on a raft
of areca trunks and put to sea so as to drift away. This is done
by the Buginese, who call it ripali, and by the Atjehnese.
BI Among the Balinese there is also burning alive, which is some-
L times applied for incest. Other death penalties are tearing the
681 offender apart, known on Bali and Lombok as mapentang,
letting him starve to death, and burying him alive. We must
point out still another peculiar way of executing the death
BI sentence among the Batak; in some cases, for example, for
681
266 adultery, it is coupled with eating the body of the culprit.

Among the corporal punishments there is first of all the
J meting out of blows with a stick or cane. This punishment
681 has a prominent place in the Javanese law codes in particular
and it is most commonly applied as an alternative for nonpay-
ment of fines or for adultery. Mutilating punishments, too,
BI such as chopping off one or another part of the body, are not
681 rare. In former times on Bali the princes had the custom of
cutting off the hand, putting out the eyes, etc., of a person
I
681 from whom nothing much could be collected. But enough.

I [466 cont.]

681 I refer those who wish to learn more about such atrocities to my essay on criminal law among the peoples of the Malayan race.

Among the punishments involving forfeiture of liberty, mentioned third, there are slavery and bondage, which have already been mentioned, and exile, which we discussed in connection with the joint liability system. Finally, there is imprisonment, which, however, is little known in the Malay Archipelago. Only among the Balinese do we find mention of a kind of prison, pankèng or krankèng, a sturdy wooden pen in which the prisoner is forced to remain in a recumbent position during his imprisonment. If this imprisonment lasts a long time the condemned man not infrequently perishes in his own filth, because he has to eat his food and take care of his natural functions within this small space, [467] without its ever being cleaned. Besides imprisonment, the Balinese also have punishment in chains. The general practice, however, is confinement in stocks, in which the condemned man often stays so long that he becomes completely rigid and stiff. We have learned of three categories of punishments; there is still another one, however, which has not been mentioned by us,

Bt
681 that of humiliation or scorn. They are applied principally for
684 theft and adultery. Thus, not infrequently an adulterous woman is shorn bald. This is the case among the Batak, but she can

I
G
684 be exempted by a payment from her father to the injured husband. Punishment by humiliation for the same offense also existed among the Alfoer of the Minahasa. The guilty woman was led around the village amidst the beating of cymbals and drums, while the accompanying crowd gaily sang of her offense. In some places this custom included blackening the culprit's face. Among the Buginese and Makassarese it is the custom to chase an adulterous female slave while beating her with a cane. Minor punishments by scorn occur more generally among the Minangkabau Malays, where theft is punished by leading the thief around the village for seven days with the loot tied around his neck. Finally, we must point to the Niassans. Anyone who steals one or more chickens for the

MK
684

Mn
685

N
685

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f. 88 for upper classes and f. 20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f. 65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Fredericy's [i.e., H.J. Friedericy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

583
565
435
114

[684]

586
595

212

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He³ knew of Latowa and
 [532] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
 565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
 114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
 567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala,
 bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the
 maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are
 ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are des-
 cendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear
 that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even
 look different. But he added their women are often prettier
 than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women,
 however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that
 keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc.
 might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on
 saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the
 women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to
 touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it
 was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added
 that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch
 in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is
 still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
 565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
 582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
 684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
 602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was
 based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was
 impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for
 it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for
 "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
 793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
 838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
 778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
 178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them
 gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has
 none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all
 are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals
 and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati
 in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few.
 They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the
 necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed
 once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in
 weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain
 in weight foreshadowed welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they
 mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning
 practices, the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old
 1/2 [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru.
 --Analyst]

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
● 684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times
they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to
the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus
I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line,
and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a
lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
they said that they did not think it was very much, because
834 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was
567 probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all
on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not
present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At
the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and
his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They
said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman
of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from
former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-com-
mittal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also
said that they no longer have the custom of using money to
get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do
defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple
is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part
of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They
still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest
official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger
tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--
Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day
the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it
was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery
with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of
old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic,
mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In
addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

M
T
582
563
771

M
582
178
585

M
582
565

M
561
596
562
178

M
562
883
178
M
588
565
684

M
575
562

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do
not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young.
The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty
ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They
obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring
in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said
to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women.
It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth
usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from
heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The
radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most
men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same
house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or
three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine
because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has
several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently
slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. They said they like to get more because they
were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price
goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master.
There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said
that the children follow the status of the father, but I think
he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I
don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say
that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
[588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her
husband.

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

565
567
178

696
681
567
626

[684]
[588]

557
565
556
554
531

178
554
342
565
531